carried into town and hung from metal hooks on a wall between two shops. By ten o'clock in the morning the butcher's day is finished, and, aside from the slaughtering-place and the sales' display on hooks, he has no other place of business. Only two or three animals are killed each day, always sheep or goats, because cattle, in their utility in agriculture and the impossibility of profitably disposing of so large a quantity of meat, are almost never killed. The butchers purchase their animals from villagers or jobbers, and sell the dressed meat to their patrons. All parts of the beast are disposed of, if not by humans, then by dogs, and by noon the slaughtering-place is bare, save for a few blackened stains of blood on the gravel. The butchers' greatest days of business occur on the first days of the feasts of Jeyleul Seweyeg (the 'Aid el-Seghir, "the lesser feast," which ends the fast of Ramadan on the first days of the tenth lunar month) and Jeyleul Gurbag (the 'Aid el-Kebir, "the greater feast," which begins on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month) when every family able to afford the expense has a sheep or a goat slaughtered in sacrifice. Most households purchase their animals in advance, keeping them in the houseyard until the day of the feast.

That the fisherman and the hunter are only seasonally employed has already been noticed. They offer their respective catches in the bazar at large, or go from door to door among the wealthier households. Villagers with shiney

information, it would be difficult to assign such a [342] [779]
name given to any definite cultural horizon, but the
archaeological attempt to connect the names is clearly [342] [777]
folsomic, and, while it had its initial expansion under
the Greeks enlightens, probably had its greatest influence
in Hellenism under the Turks when such things were carried
to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige
of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The door are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, [779]
having a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy
wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above
it as a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel loop for [779]
light and in many cases is furnished with charms designed
to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be dis- [776] [777]
cussed in a later section. These are characteristically [781]
a blue porcelain plate, enameled in the mid well-curbing,
or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reason-
ing behind the second device is that it indicates to a
person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as
powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that
probably has little to do with the origin of the custom.
Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new 342
owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting 782.
its throat before the door and smears some of the blood
on the doorposts and the threshold. Often he dips his [751] [771]
hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by

the baptism the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (vulvaform, almost certainly an anti-Evil Eye to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same emotion is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the threat of the ordeal is still over a window sill. It will be seen that once a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshold and the builder's amulet is dipped in the blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

137

flavoring in wine, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment to the meze (from a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to salt sticklebacks and grilled meat. The red wine of the Montarians is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few homes, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the Sitzenberg, or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the wealthy in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, Bismillah, "In the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, outside persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (wudu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an abnormally large proportion of the populace, with an respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is nijis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and enquiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

other on the cheek. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a siblings house and most of their friends are thus derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the adults are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the diwaankhaana with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbours out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges.

Turning now to the course of an individual of Kawaadan through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be examined first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the diwaankhaana or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she enters all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the woman in labor.

may be traced through either parent, and almost anyone, if genealogies were regularly kept by the commoners, could find many relatives from whom the title might be claimed. The only person in Kawaaka who made use of the given tuitasa was a poor and elderly blacksmith, something of an extrovert, who also used a beard to increase his appearance of existiliness. The chieftains, many of whom bore the title, usually avoid these appearances, such as Sayyid Ahmed of Selma who dressed in the same fashion as the other aristocrats. Whether these pedigrees are genuine or bogus is impossible to say, for the Arab penetration of Kurdistan has gone on for many centuries, but one may suspect that, insofar as the title accords a little social distinction, many of those claim, at some point, are as valid as those of some pretentious Englishman who finds ancestors for himself who landed with the Conqueror or an American who discovers forebears on the Mayflower.

The religious phraseology of the townspeople is in the Arabic language. All of their prayers, pious utterances, and, indeed, their expletives are in Arabic, while everyday speech is Kurdish. Prayer will be dealt with below. The most common expletive, heard constantly in the conversation of the day, is simply Wlah, "God." It can be used in a variety of contexts, some of them pious and many quite otherwise. The tired merchant stretching himself on his cushions or bed may utter a long-drawn out Wlah, and the same is applied to a welcome glass of tea, a lovely woman, or the like. It should not be supposed, of course,

that the number of times the name of the deity is mentioned 97.
indicates the piety of the population. With the Prophet
it is quite different, for one cannot know his opinion of
interviewing or in a secular moment. It is not customary
to call him by name, but rather al-Nabi, "the Apostle,"
or al-Rasul, "the Prophet," and either the speaker or someone
else present adds, ...salatu 'alaihi wa salam, "the prayer
(blessing) of God upon him and the peace," whenever he is
mentioned. The Quran is held in similar respect. The 79
volume must never be handled with levity, or left uncovered
when not in use. An official told how his servant removed
his copy of the Quran from the room in which he was drinking
arrack, in some way pollutifying the book, in which the use [79]
of alcoholic beverages is forbidden, or God himself. Metal
cases or cloth envelopes, usually green in color, are used
to enclose it, or else it is tied up in a scarf or handker-
chief.

The great mosque, Jami'a al-Kabir, in Ramadan is a 94
large, square building of rubble on the central square of
the inner or monastic area, its rear wall facing the qibla,
the direction of Mecca, to which prayer is addressed. The
building on its front is raised about six feet above the
square and one reaches its porch by a series of roughly cut
stone stairs. The roof is of mud rolled on beadles of
palm and twigs, and covers the porch as well as the main
room and the annex. This is to the right of the main door,
a small door of the room opening on the porch and large un-
glassed windows overlooking the square. It is used for

twelfth lunar month (the sixth). This corresponds to the day of Moses when the pilgrims assembled there are ritually sacrificing an animal at Mina outside the city. Every family in Ramadan who can afford the expense purchases a sheep or goat for a sacrifice in commemoration with the pilgrims on the first day of Zeqiwel Lorbet, and the head of the family is turned toward Mecca as the throat is cut. This feast lasts three or four days, and is identical in character with that ending Ramadan, although perhaps lacking some of the intense excitement caused by the end of the fast. During both of these festivals, persons greet each other cheerily, and the atmosphere is similar to that of our own Christmastide.

Apart from the lunar Muslim calendar, two observances must be mentioned which are reckoned by the solar year. The first of these is Nayrus or Zeqiwel Nayrus (also identified in Ramadan as Sera Shenkilla). "Black Wednesday," in Western Turkish and as Nayrus in Persian). This corresponds to the season of the Vernal Equinox, normally occurring in the last weeks of March, and in antique usage the beginning of the New Year. The connection of the celebrations with paganism is obvious and need not be explored here. "In the spring every Wednesday for several weeks is supposed to be a holy day," it was said, although there was no verbal reference to any religion, Muslim or otherwise. On these Wednesdays, the townspeople, both men and women, go out into the countryside in family parties, taking food and drink with them. The day is passed out of

[illegible] and you should come to my help." 778
Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my 776
difficulty. He helped me get the mule to its
feet and raised the rider. The two of us were walking
along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered
I was alone. Shiite Alyas lived long ago and had
gave his such power to do good that he disappeared.
This is why people ask his help while he is gone.
When Jesus will come again with almost the Belief,
Shiite Alyas must be with them, for otherwise they
cannot come.

Persons in Koweaqua who choose to do so fast "for Shiite 785
Alyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and 782
sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco.
Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. [787]
Koweaqua has a event called Sainyas Shiite Alyas [784]
which is exchanged between households at this time. [781]
The exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save
that it "came just before winter." This interesting [771]
custom does not have the sanction of the saints and the
purists in the town, and is not followed by all.

With the [illegible] and Shiite Alyas observances, the 772
"official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the
next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the [illegible] or holy men. Theoretically,
this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line,
but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of
their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy,
have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be
powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most
humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to
effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power
continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of [777]

there graves become shrines in time, and the object of pilgrimage from nearby villages. The typical indication of a shrine is either a low, quadrilateral, ruinic wall about the grave or a cairn of stones. Those who visit the shrine with some purpose characteristically tie a piece of white rag on the end of a pole and lean the pole against the inner surface of the wall. Some shrines have hundreds of these crude banners crowding in them. The meaning of the rag is variable. In some cases the visitor will return and reclaim it, incorporating it in a charm, while in others it is simply the sign of a vow that the supplicant, if the shaikh buried there will bring about the desired favor, will sacrifice so many animals or give so much money to the poor. The most suspicious days, it might be noted, to visit a shrine are Wednesdays and Thursdays. The six most noted shrines near the town of Kawsanie are as follows:

1. Shaikh Sid Bedil near the village of Umul Sah. Shaikh Sid Bedil is said to have lived about two hundred years ago, "in the time of Nur Pasha."

2. Shaikh Ba'ali Sellimeh near the village of Ashik. The shrine is said to be very old, dating perhaps from the time of the Islamic conquest.

3. Shaikh Isreq in the village of Sarwa itself. Shaikh Isreq is said to have died about fifty years ago.

4. Shaikh Ibn Shaibeq on the road to Zawiak. "No one knows who it is, but it is very ancient."

5. Shaikh Muhammed or Shaikh Bejji, the second most famous shrine in the district, at Bejji Sarwa.

6. Shumeni Shaikh Muhammed or Shumeni Beji. "The Shaikhs of Bejji Muhammed," near the shrine of

[illegible, "blessing"], and provides a good example of [illegible] what is classified as mana in most standard works on primitive religion, an anonymous supernatural power which has a seat in certain persons or objects from which it may be transmitted.

The power of these holy men, whose only characteristic [illegible] are distorted in some way, is wholly benevolent. The people of Kamaishi also believe in *Yōsei* that were once as in Ayukai, spirits who, in contrast, characteristically cause great harm. There does not appear to be much thought about ghosts. No one in Kamaishi knew of a house "haunted" by the spirits of a dead man, and equated the European notion of "ghost" with that of the *Yōsei*. The *Yōsei*, for example, might take possession of a building and drive the inhabitants out. They are held to be evil spirits who constitute a separate order of creation, like the birds or the animals, and are not necessarily related to mankind. At night one must never pour hot water out of the door without first saying "in the name of God." Although there are no cats in Kamaishi, it was said that one must never kill such an animal, because "the *Yōsei* is born in a cat and might have one." When a boy is out walking in the wild countryside, it is believed that a voice often calls out to him, "asking him to come and meet the Father," that is, the parent of the *Yōsei* who is the fallen Angel Shite of Islamic demonology. If the boy is foolish and leaves his path as directed, the *Yōsei* throws him from

Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the one who is only to be seen home with her by a male, the other woman has a long guard outside the bridal chamber and leaves in Sakkmesh, whereas the bride was away, the following morning sitting with her the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity[1]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives.

A festive meal starting in the evening in the room was provided by the women. This was served in an large common eating room. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women guests departed.

The women's life in the village within their complete the reception and seclusion of the bride, and the entertaining of female community when the bridegroom first meets the bride. These ceremonies indicate the virtues of a bird over the bride and a form on the bread delivered by the groom. The women's life then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law's task for not come, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the home and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the women who is a living basic evidence of the bride's virginity.

In regard to the bird released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let it loose. In this connection it may be of interest that Champion reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[2] when the bridal couple enters the bridegroom's home.

Champion also mentions that according to Arab custom, every time a home is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, jinns and ex-bird amongst in city to, are, and naturally a bride's first entry into her own home is a specially delicate affair[3]. In regard to Mainland Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Eickin calls attention to the custom of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the preparatory measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Cresset, Eickin writes: "Es bedeutet sich auch darauf vor den Hausdämon, die Frau von ihrem Eigentümlichkeit zuwenden und in einen neuen, den der Eigen den Ahnen, zuführen"[4]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[5], the form I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom or the still unknown young women, while the male relatives effect less symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe the heavy cloth.

The bride (even when was smoking her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost solemnity, as act that in the regret of bride and bridegroom might result in a thousand chall her which they had an possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled women's group. Eickin's analysis can probably be accepted: that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the man's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first actual intercourse take place. Champion refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives the bride three blows on the head which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Champion quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the assumption that the blows are a symbolic act that are in essence

[illegible] the husband will have the future mastery in the home[illegible], an explanation I did not hear given for the love offered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both to regard as the symbolic sacrifice of the lock and the love given by the groom to the bride, we have a [illegible] of pre-Islamic culture. As Yildirim points out, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and burial[illegible].

In other visits to Sulaimani I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon; a wedding ritual from the opposite angle to the two described. Even though as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an urbanized milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergences in the course of the wedding that we have a common value across the borders dividing the several environments.

In the wedding the family's own men, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the home early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed town house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimani, and the two people were unacquainted, who both belonged to the urbanized milieu, married were mostly here on work positions or school vacations in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The album acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding the bride was put in order by the women of the couple's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the home was tidied, only the bride's room and the bridegroom. It was in act as a collection for his family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and façade of this quite small house that the groom's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the glasses was spotted in some cases because the arrangement of the two rooms and façade was done under the free direction of the bride's sister in such an extent that she behalf the more arranged rooms: the bedrooms, the guest reception room and the small breakfast room room, in order to stop the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who were all over the place, from spoiling the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked within the a demonstrative [illegible] of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the visiting village environment. As many of the ladies of Sulaimani as the bride's house and courtyard could accommodate were invited to be present on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and to travel part to accompany her on her drive toward the town, a ride that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and received visitors, who each offered tea, cakes and [illegible], ceremonial grape juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 2 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily salutes of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the synopsis of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Mohammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area fenced by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work, have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[4]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is constipated within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Taqawra, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—as like the others, in essence—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Jahnamâ*, (L. 220) of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.80 × 1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the ca

[P. 145]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 56.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colours. (E. 2234). Tegnevn.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sure of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *rak'a*, ending in the kneeling position while reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Jurjehdi[9], the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3-8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *rak'a*, whereas Gibb[7] allows seven positions to each *rak'a*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *rak'a*.

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[778]

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The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *rak'a*, was usually said on the clay roof about 4 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *rak'a*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 8 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four *rak'a* at 9-10 p.m.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The morning prayer with its two rak'a took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic features of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were: the women acted individually[4], never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a samovar filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the son might be sitting shaving himself, with the only pressure lamp in the room placed on one of the octagonal smoking tables, the room could be full of talking, tea-drinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable sin[5] of interrupting the worshipper.

Lorch[16] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Kurds there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 57. Women praying in the forest on a stone beside the water basin. Balkan.

1782 1179 pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

[854] [883] The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8-12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

[788] [515] The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

1782 562 565 369 Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

[935] 1782 935 The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black crow at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a fatherless girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

entered the institution which-so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouses of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity are unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so[1], believing that by so doing sc would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to thirtieth day in the month of *ramaḍān*. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, te temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inborne strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among othr things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connection with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the entre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached th fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, vrse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a waybither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met tho had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several:In a joint family that owned various shops in the city and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by jeep Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey withuther pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one ping the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, while the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jeddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Ls. (say £200)[2].

In the same way that th returned male pilgrim mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules afte a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *ahryl*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'id-i-qurbān* or *qurbān bairām*, that is spent in Mīnā on the return from 'Arafāt to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

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On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safā* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Mīnā where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Mīnā. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mīnā* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last encirclement around the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

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To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish woman:

When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 350 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

1778 servant ... the credulous ... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "have some contact" is mentioned by Mansel[42].

1789 1778 Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[43] writes: "... tout qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est gardé des prières de saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Fellberg, that there may be a parallel between these hang-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

[1911] There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Maunier[44], Ekirch[45], Fellberg[46] and Sonne[47], Ekirch[48], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

1755 1782 The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended in due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 4 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

[369] [989] [565]

Items	Other offerings	Sacrificial rites	Consumed when	Unconsumed when
Visible amulets	+	+		+
Encased amulets	+	+		+
Holy hand	+	+		
Saints' graves			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

778 his shoes before stepping onto the stone. Here the Mulla recites
771 prayers five times a day and those who feel like it join in. The
622 average commoner is very casual about his prayers; many do not pray at
782 all, those who do mostly pray only at sunset. The Aghas on the other
hand are frequently excessively sanctimonious; of my acquaintances
Hamid Amin of Dergala in particular made a tremendous fuss about his
prayers and ritual washings. It was interesting to note that he would
often break off in the middle, give orders to his servants, and then go
on again where he left off. While one can have no insight into his
[954] real religious feelings, I got the impression that it was largely done
for show. There is a definite prestige value attached to being a
devout Mohammedan - it is the characteristic of a gentleman. In the
same way the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about
the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present
while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual.

782 A man need not of course go to the mosque to pray. Each man's
prayer mat is in effect his own mosque. The actual practice varies in
different villages depending I fancy upon the example set by the Agha.
Anyway I noticed that there was always a much higher attendance at
prayers when the Agha was there in person. The conventions seem to be
analogous to those of English churchgoing, there is a much bigger
attendance on the Sabbath. The devout Hamid Amin of Dergala for
instance said his prayers at home all the week but on Fridays attended
at the mosque, and most of the village went too.

778 Some villages have a supplementary roofed building which is
3% used as a mosque during the winter, but this is not invariable. In
the foothills area and on the plain the mosque is normally a roofed
building with minaret attached. In this case prayers are held either
within the covered courtyard or on the roof.

10cJohnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

778 On hills and knolls anywhere in Kurdi-
778 stan may be found a pile of stones under a
778 tree with pieces of cloth tied about it. It
• 778 is called a shakhs, and people who are sick
come and sit beside it, perhaps leaving a
lamb as a sacrificial offering, or a sum of
money which can only be removed by
someone really in need of it. By this
means they are cured of many diseases.

778 Some say that a shakhs is the grave of a
descendant of an Imam. I once asked an
old man sitting near a shakhs about its
origin.

"My father heard from his father, who
learned from our ancestors", he said,
"that it is very old. It was here in the
days of Mohammed the Prophet, and some

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[291] *Squadron-Leader Johnson in Kurdish dress; Turkish trousers, cut very full from a single width of stuff; a wide, knotted cotton waistband; a loose shirt under a felt tunic, and a turban*

[p. 384 (A)]

4: Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI
Kurd MAN

I K 938 439 173 782 539

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

I K 653 185

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

I K 721 361

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1925, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli qaimaqam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Semis, a jovial friar Turk of the Nesterian Church.

319